



**The Abuse of Human Rights in Student Movements
in México in *Massacre in Mexico* and *Ayotzinapa*:
*Eternal Hours***

Nery Gonzalez, Deniz Quintana, José López
School of World Languages and Cultures, CSU Monterey Bay
Spring 2020
Advisor: Dr. Christine Fernández

Agenda

- **Inspiration**
- **Purpose**
- **Research Questions**
- **Literature Review**
- **Methodology**
- **Analysis**
- **Conclusion**
- **Acknowledgements**
- **Bibliography**

Inspiration

- SPAN 330: Hispanic Testimonials
- To raise awareness of student movements in Mexico
- In the hope that students return to their families



Source: El Universo



Source: Pinterest



Source: Universidad de Guadalajara



The Purpose

- The purpose of this research is to show the abuse of human rights towards student movements in Mexico as presented in Testimonial Literature.

Research Questions

1. What do the texts of *Massacre in Mexico* and *Ayotzinapa: Eternal Hours* have in common and how are they different?
2. How is the voice of the “disappeared” rescued through testimonial literature and what human rights abuses are shown in the books *Massacre in Mexico* and *Ayotzinapa: Eternal Hours*?

Student Movement in Mexico

- Began in the 1960s & inspired the 2014 student movement
- Students demanded democracy
- The Institutional Revolutionary Party maintained its dominance of Mexican politics through electoral fraud
- Followed by institutional violence
 - **Massacre in Tlatelolco MX (1968)**
 - **Enforced “disappearances” of 43 Students from Ayotzinapa, MX (2014)**



Source: Marcixt.com

Testimonial Literature

- In the 20th century, testimonial literature was recognized as a literary genre with the first testimonial narrative of Rigoberta Menchú.



Testimonial Literature cont.

According to John Beverley for a testimony to be considered one, it has to include the following characteristics:

1. Narrated in first person
2. “I” expresses collectiveness
3. Testified by a marginalized person
4. Lacks political voice
5. Reports injustice

(Beverley 1987)

Collective Memory

“The concept of collective memory refers to all of those aspects that are part of the legacy of a community. This term is related to phenomena associated with public opinion and expresses the social framework of shared memory” (Navarro). (Translated by: José López)

Historical Context: Tlatelolco Massacre

- October 2, 1968
- 10 days before the Olympics in Mexico.
- 10,000 gathered to rally in Plaza Tres Culturas
- President Díaz Ordaz ordered a mass shooting
- Approx. 325 dead and 2000 injured
- Students were imprisoned and tortured
- No consequences for the Mexican government

;Source: The New York Times

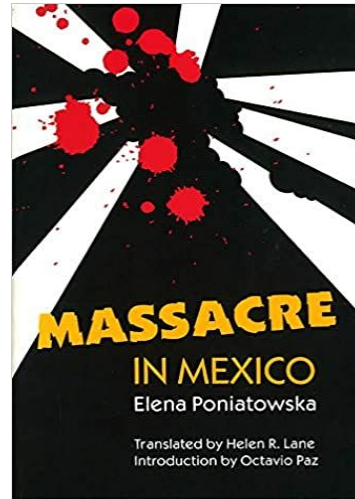


Historical Context: Ayotzinapa

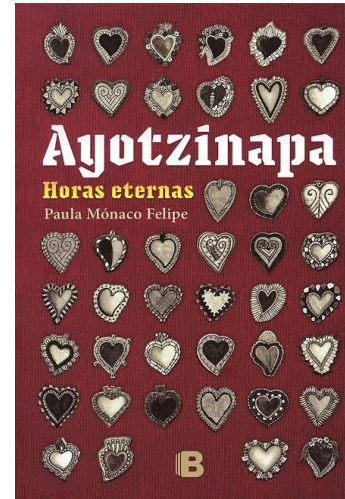
- September 26, 2014- Commemoration of October 2, Ayotzinapa Normal School
- Iguala Guerrero
- Slaughter
- Disappearances
- Those involved-normalists of Ayotzinapa, Federal Police
- and Municipal Guerreros Unidos, Enrique Peña Nieto
- Consequences-43 “disappeared”

Methodology

Massacre in Mexico (1971), by
Elena Poniatowska



Ayotzinapa, Horas Eternas (2016),
by Paula Monaco Felipe



Source: Amazon

Introduction

Tlatelolco

Source: Sister Cities



Source: Geology

Ayotzinapa

Source: The Wall Street Journal

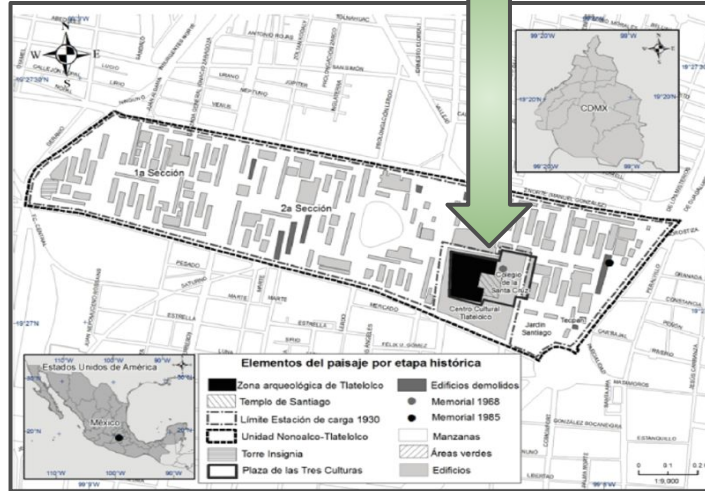


Tlatelolco Map

Plaza de las tres culturas



Source: Pinterest



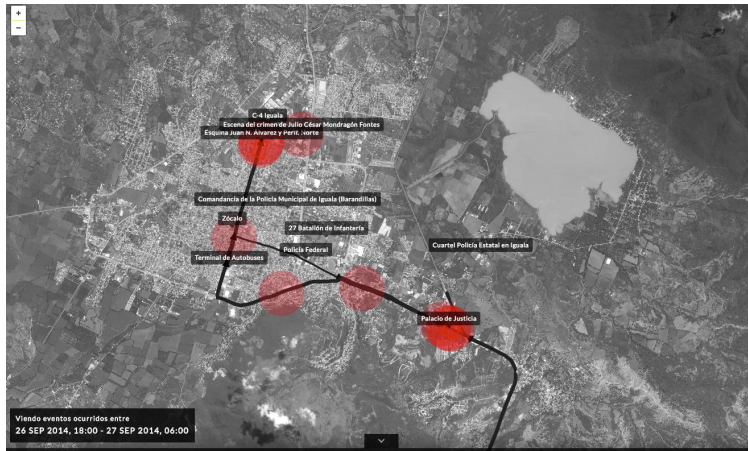
Source: Mario Pani Street



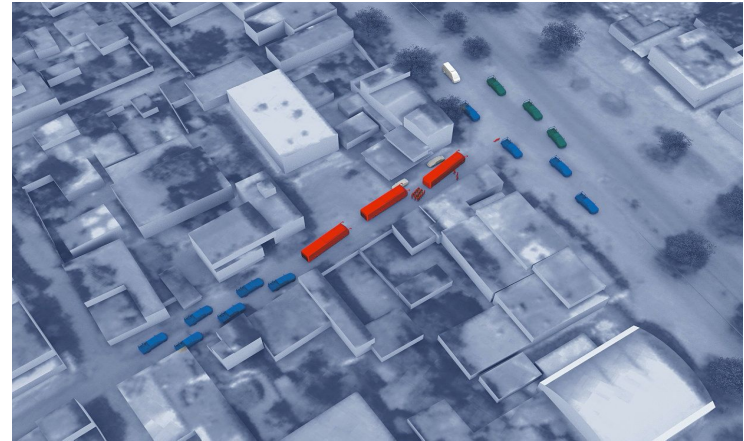
Source: Vanguardia MX

Iguala Map

-Map on the left we see the route the buses took with the students in them



-Map on the right shows how the buses carrying the students were ambushed by the police



Source: New York Times

Elena Poniatowska

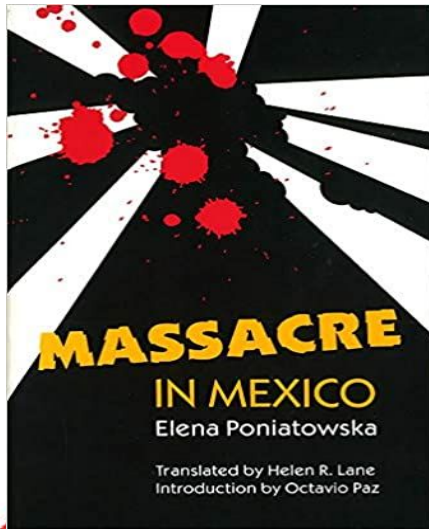
1932-Present

- ❑ Mexican narrator and essayist
- ❑ Literary genres: testimonial narratives, novels poems and short stories
- ❑ Thematics: social problems, women
- ❑ Works in the testimonial genre:
 - ❑ *Massacre in Mexico* (1971)
 - ❑ *Nothing, Nobody: The Voices of the Mexico City Earthquake* (1985)



Massacre in Mexico (1971)

Structure and Testimony



- Divided in two parts
 - Student Movement and Massacre
- Journalistic style
 - Accumulation of Testimonies
- Testimony (Yes!)
 - Meets the five characteristics to be considered part of the genre



Analysis: *Massacre in Mexico*

The victims: Students and the Mexican people

"The trampled blood of hundreds of students, men, women, children, soldiers and the elderly, has dried up in the land of Tlatelolco" (235)

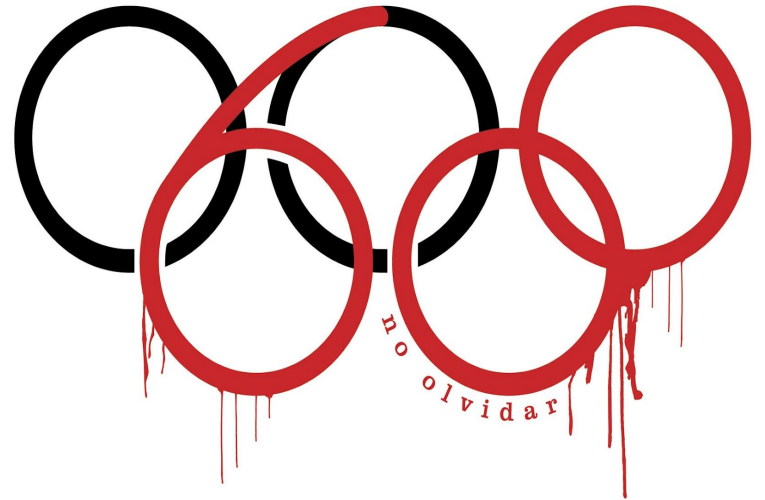
The Culprit

- President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964-1970), Mexican Government

“I maintain that the president made the final decision sometime on September 24th and that from the 25th the implementation of the plan that would culminate on October 2 began.” -Sergio Aguayo (Translation by Nery González)

The Political Factors

- To maintain governmental order
- Mexico would host the Olympic games on October 12, 1968



Fuente: Actualidad.rt.com

Impunity

- The national press portrayed students as terrorists, snipers and criminals.
- In contrast they present the soldiers, & government as victims and heroes.

A student testified that they were imprisoned and blamed for the massacre.

"We were formally declared prisoners and accused of 10 crimes and sentenced to 16 years in prison on November 12." (134).



Source: The New York Times



The Abuse of Human Rights

The Voice of the Survivors

“An engineer in his fifties was shot in the right shoulder, and he was completely destroyed ... A phone call was made to the Red Cross, but two soldiers armed with machine guns came instead. We never heard from the engineer again.” (193)

Physical Torture

“I was injected with an anesthetic substance in my testicles and I underwent a castration drill, breaking my scrotum with a scalpel [...] All for not wanting to make statements against the Student Movement.” (117)



Source: wisegeek.com

Trauma

“It was a scary mess! Later, when they locked us up, I remember the holes that opened in the ceiling, the plaster that fell on us, the terror and death that covered the Plaza. You know, really, I don't like to talk about Tlatelolco; What's more, I can't ... So excuse me ... I can't ... I can't deal with Tlatelolco ... Here at Lecumberri we talk about it as little as possible, for mental health.” (153)



Source: [americasandout.wordpress](https://www.americasandout.wordpress.com)

Paula Mónaco Felipe

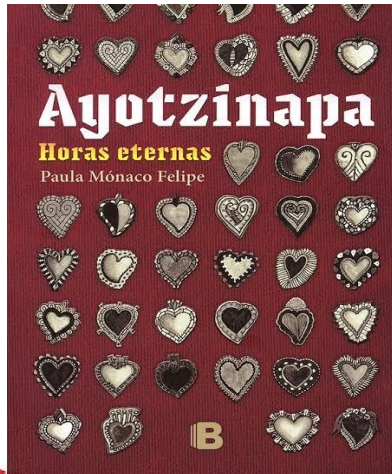
- ❑ Born on December 16, 1977 in Villa Maria, Argentina
- ❑ Her parents were disappeared during the military dictatorship in Argentina
- ❑ H.I.J.O.S
- ❑ Was raised by her grandparents
- ❑ Journalist
- ❑ Lives in Mexico since 2004



Source: www.lavoz.com

Ayotzinapa: Eternal Hours

Structure and testimony



Source: Amazon

- ❑ Narrates the night of the attack
- ❑ Narrated in chronological order
- ❑ Shows us their faces and their stories, letting us know who they are.
- ❑ Testimony?
 - ❑ Yes , this text fits the requirements to be considered one

Ayotzinapa Analysis

The victims - students and civilians

- “In the street, the cops kick up the students who were on the floor, which are between 20 and 30 of students. They put them in several patrols with official identification, numbers 017, 019, 020, 022 and 028” (Mónaco 42).
- “That night, a bus carrying soccer player from the Chilpancingo Hornets team was also attacked” (Mónaco 55). (Translation by José López)



Presumed Guilty

"They're fucked up, says the cop when he finishes his cigar. He covers his face, speaks into a radio transmitter, and gives an order to the police officers who complete the ambush. From the third bus, the Golden Star, another twenty students are beaten down" (Mónaco 40). (Translated by: José López)

The Political Factors

"Maria de los Angeles Pineda, wife of the mayor of Iguala, Jose Luis Abarca. But she also has aspires to be the new mayor of the city and has a power that transcends her offices: several members of her family are high-ranking members of the Beltrán Leyva cartel and its current name, Guerreros Unidos" (Mónaco 28). (Translated by: José López)



The Impunity

"There is no scientific evidence that the normalists have been burned, says the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team in a report listing irregularities and errors committed by Mexican government officials and experts" (Mónaco 241). (Translated by: José López)

Abuse of Human Rights

"One has been hit! One has been killed! - shouts Ernesto, who took a few more minutes to get here, and the others shout: We're students! Why are you shooting at us? We're students! You've already killed one!" (Mónaco 32). (Translated by: José López)

The Torture

Julio Cesar Mondragon Fontes



Source:centrodemedioslibres.org

"On the morning of September 27, 2014, they tortured him, ripped out his face and eyes, and took his life" (Mónaco). (Translated by: José López)



Trauma

"But the missing ones didn't leave: they were taken away. Someone did and knows where they are. The rest of us are left with the option of not being indolent or turning elsewhere, of preserving humanity" (Mónaco 218). (Translated by: José López)

Differences

- ❑ Organized crime allegedly responsible for disappearances of students in Ayotzinapa
- ❑ It is known which and how many were victims of the attack in Ayotzinapa
- ❑ In Tlatelolco it is not known with certainty how many victims there were and their names.
- ❑ The structure
 - ❑ **One is narrated in chronological order**
- ❑ Role played by the media in Ayotzinapa in comparison to Tlatelolco

Connections

- ❑ Both groups were attacked by the government
- ❑ Both text report the abuse in human rights
- ❑ The students of Ayotzinapa went to Mexico City to commemorate the students of '68
- ❑ Both texts are narrated in first person
- ❑ The authors use pictures to give the testimonies validity

Collective memory

- Memories that are treasured
- It stands out and has meaning in society
- Meaningful in literature

-Monument commemorating the 43 missing students on Paseo de la Reforma in Mexico City.



Source: Shutterstock



Source: Yahoo

-A monument dedicated to the victims of the Tlatelolco massacre, in the Plaza de la tres culturas.

Conclusion

- Michele Bachelet, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
 - **Declared on 2019 that enforced disappearances in Mexico were indeed abuse of human rights**
- The use of testimonial literature in both texts to raise awareness of institutional violence toward student movements
- Other possible future studies could be organized crime and how it intersects with the government as well as other instances of human rights abuses, ex. Argentina



Source: KPFA

Bibliography

Aguayo, Sergio, *De Tlatelolco a Ayotzinapa: Las Violencias Del Estado*. Ediciones Proceso, 2016.

Beverley, John. "Anatomía Del Testimonio." *Revista De Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, vol. 13, no. 25, 1987, pp. 7–16. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4530303. Accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

Beverley, John, and Hugo Achugar. *La Voz Del Otro: Testimonio, Subalternidad Y Verdad Narrativa*. Ciudad de Guatemala, República de Guatemala: Universidad Rafael Landívar, 2002.

Davis, Diane E. *Urban Leviathan. Mexico City in the Twentieth Century*. Filadelfia: Temple University Press, 1994.

Felipe Paula Mónaco, and Elena Poniatowska. *Ayotzinapa, Horas Eternas*. Ediciones B, 2015.

Bibliography Cont.

Gelpí, Juan, “ Testimonio periodístico y la cultura urbana en *La noche de Tlatelolco* de Elena Poniatowska ”, *CELEHIS – Revista del Centro de Letras Hispanoamericanas*, 12, 2000, pp.285-308.

Hernández Anabel. *La Verdadera Noche De Iguala: La Historia Que El Gobierno Quiso Ocultar*. Grijalbo, 2017.

Hernandez, Anabel. *Massacre In Mexico: the True Story behind the Missing 43*. Verso, 2018.

Jörgensen, Beth E. “La Intertextualidad en ‘La Noche De Tlatelolco’ de Elena Poniatowska.” *Hispanic Journal*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1989, pp. 81–93. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/44284204. Accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

Bibliography Cont.

Lawler, Lois K *Revisions Of Domesticity: Selected Texts Of Elena Poniatowska, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, And Isabel Allende*. 2001. Oklahoma U, PhD dissertation.

[Shareok.search.shareok.org/bitstream/11244/377/3028805.PDF](http://shareok.search.shareok.org/bitstream/11244/377/3028805.PDF)

Manuel Valenzuela Arce José, *Juvenicidio: Ayotzinapa y las vidas precarias en América Latina* Ned Ediciones, 2015.

Oviedo, José Miguel. *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. De los orígenes a la emancipación*. México: Alianza. 1998

Parodi, Claudia. “México álgido, las voces de la resistencia en la ciudad: La noche de Tlatelolco, Nada, nadie y Amanecer en el Zócalo.” *América sin Nombre* 11-12. 2008.

Poniatowska, Elena. *La Noche De Tlatelolco: Testimonios De Historia Oral*. Era, 2014.

Bibliography Cont.

Tamayo, Sergio, *Violencia, Movimientos Sociales y Ayotzinapa*. Redpol, (12): 1–25. 2015.pdf

Tirado Villegas Gloria. "De La Historia a La Nostalgia. Memoria Colectiva, El 68 En Puebla, México." *Diálogos* 5.1 Y 2 (2011): Diálogos, 01 August 2011, Vol.5(1 Y 2). Web.

Villegas, Abelardo. "La Ideología Del Movimiento Estudiantil En México." *NS, NorthSouth*, vol. 1, no. 1/2, 1976, pp. 130–147. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41804418. Accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

Yudice, George. "Testimonio and Postmodernism." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1991, pp. 15–31. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2633737. Accessed 25 Apr. 2020.



Appreciations

*Dr. Christine Fernández

Dr. Carolyn González

Dr. Rebecca Pozzi

Mr. Gus Leonard

Dr. Shigeko Sekine

Faculty of School of World Languages and Cultures &
Spanish Capstone classmates from School of World Languages and
Cultures



Questions, Compliments?

Source: Isabel Sanginés - SOMOSELMEDIO